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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OVIP, CY
SUBJECT: CODEL TRIBLE MEETINGS WITH ACTING PRESIDENT LADAS, FORMIN
IACOVOU, AND TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH

1. CONFIDENTIAL-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ~~EDWIN TRIBLE AND REPRESENTATIVES DONKER AND~~
NELSON, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AND POLOFF, MET WITH ACTING
PRESIDENT GEORGE LADAS, FORMIN IACOVOU, AND "TRNC PRESIDENT"
DENKTASH ON NOVEMBER 19. ALL THREE BRIEFED THE DELEGATION,
WITH NO NEW GROUND BROKEN. FORMIN IACOVOU ASSAILED TURKISH
CYPRIOT INTRANSIGENCE, WHILE DENKTASH EMPHASIZED TURKISH
CYPRIOT SUFFERING FROM 1963-74. ALL INSISTED THAT THEIR
SIDE WOULD APPROACH THE THIRD ROUND OF PROXIMITY TALKS IN GOOD
FAITH, BUT DOUBTED THAT THE OTHER SIDE WOULD DO THE SAME.
END SUMMARY.

3. LEGISLATORS WERE JOINED FOR THEIR CALLS ON LADAS AND
IACOVOU BY OTHER GROUP MEMBERS DOUG COE, TOM EVANS, AND
CLIMIS LASCARIS. LADAS GAVE A SHORT PRO-FORMA PRE-
SENTATION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM SHOULD
BE SEEN AS ONE OF INVASION AND OCCUPATION BY TURKEY SINCE
1974 AND THAT THE GOC HAD BEEN POSITIVE AND COOPERATIVE WITH
THE SYG IN HIS CURRENT INITIATIVE. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION
ON ENOSIS, HE SAID THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WERE NO LONGER
INTERESTED IN THAT CONCEPT.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER IACOVOU EMPHASIZED TURKEY'S INVOLVE-
MENT IN THE OCCUPIED SECTOR OF CYPRUS, CLAIMING THAT TURKEY
HAD TRIED TO CHANGE THE DEMOGRAPHY OF CYPRUS BY SENDING IN
MAINLAND SETTLERS. HE CLAIMED THAT ONE IN THREE PERSONS IN
THE NORTH WAS EITHER A TURKISH SOLDIER OR SETTLER, AND THAT
DENKTASH WAS MAINTAINED IN POWER ONLY BY THE VOTES OF MAIN-
LANDERS. HE LAID GREAT STRESS ON THE QUESTION OF HOW MUCH
TERRITORY WOULD BE ADMINISTERED BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN A
BI-ZONAL FEDERATION, NOTING THAT 18 PERCENT OF THE CYPRIOT
POPULATION NOW CONTROLLED 37 PERCENT OF THE TERRITORY. HE SAID
THAT THE SYG ACCEPTED THE GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION THAT THE
MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION WAS HOW MANY REFUGEES WOULD BE ALLOWED
TO RETURN TO THEIR ANCESTRAL HOMES. IACOVOU MAINTAINED THAT
A SOLUTION UNDER WHICH THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD ADMINISTER
25 PERCENT OF THE LAND, BUT HALF OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES
COULD RETURN TO THEIR HOMES, WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOC.

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HE CLAIMED THAT DENKTASH, HOWEVER, HAD OBSTRUCTED ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTIONS OF TERRITORY OR REFUGEE RETURN BY REFUSING TO ACCEPT EITHER BRITISH OR CYPRIOT RECORDS ON LAND OWNERSHIP. INSTEAD DENKTASH REFERRED TO TURKISH CLAIMS COMING BY RIGHT OF CONQUEST AND INSISTED UPON DIFFICULT DETERMINATIONS OF PRODUCTIVITY AND VIABILITY. IACOVOU CHARACTERIZED GREEK CYPRIOT ACCEPTANCE OF A BI-ZONAL FEDERATION AS A GREAT CONCESSION AND INSISTED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION ABOUT THE FEDERATION WAS ITS FUNCTIONALITY. SINCE THE TWO PROVINCES WOULD BE ESSENTIALLY SELF-GOVERNING, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST BE STRONG ENOUGH TO GUARANTEE THAT IT WOULD HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL PERSONALITY AND PROTECT THE WELFARE OF ITS CITIZENS. GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD ACCEPTED THE LIST OF POWERS FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHICH THE SYG HAD USGGESTED, BUT, IACOVOU CHARGED, THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD REJECTED THEM. HE LISTED SEVERAL AREAS OF FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY THAT WOULD BE SUBJECT TO SPECIAL SAFEGUARDS EITHER BY SEPARATE MAJORITIES IN THE LEGISLATURE OR BY VETOES IN THE EXECUTIVE--E.G., FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DECLARATION OF STATES OF EMERGENCY, AMENDMENTS TO ELECTORAL LAWS, AND ALL TAXATION. BUT HE STRESSED THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD INSISTED ON FAR MORE, IN EFFECT ON HAVING A VETO OVER ANY ACT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. "THEIR POSITION IS BASED ON A DOCTRINE OF EQUALITY IN ALL THINGS WHEN THINGS ARE UNEQUAL," HE SAID. ASKED WHAT MESSAGE IACOVOU WOULD LIKE THE CONGRESSMEN TO CARRY TO DENKTASH, THE FORMIN RESPONDED THAT HE HOPED DENKTASH WOULD "THINK LIKE A CYPRIOT, NOT LIKE A TURK" DURING THE COMING TALKS.

5. OF THE VISITORS, ONLY MR. COE ACCOMPANIED THE CONGRESSMEN TO MEET WITH "TRNC PRESIDENT" DENKTASH. IN A VINTAGE PERFORMANCE, DENKTASH TRACED THE GENESIS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM TO THE EOKA STRUGGLE FOR ENOSIS AND THE VIOLENCE OF 1963-64 WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS A COUP AGAINST THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. HE SPOKE OF THE SUFFERING OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS AT THE HANDS OF THE POST-1963 GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS,

NOTING THAT NO ONE HAD BEEN PUNISHED FOR THE CRIMES AND MASSACRES COMMITTED AGAINST TURKISH CYPRIOTS. HE INSISTED THAT SINCE 1974, NO SUCH VIOLENCE HAD OCCURRED. DENKTASH ALSO CLAIMED THAT TURKEY AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD REDUCED THEIR FORCES ON THE ISLAND BY HALF, BUT COULD NOT CONTINUE SUCH REDUCTIONS IN THE FACE OF GREEK CYPRIOT INCREASES IN MILITARY MANPOWER AND EQUIPMENT. HE CHARGED THAT PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU WAS A PUPPET OF GREEK PM PAPANDREOU, AND NOTED IN COMPARISON THAT HE RARELY WENT TO ANKARA. CONGRESSMAN NELSON REMINDED DENKTASH OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN AN "INSOLUBLE PROBLEM" AS A RESULT OF THE PERSONAL COURAGE OF ANWAR SADAT, AND ASKED WHETHER SIMILAR COURAGE MIGHT BRING ABOUT SIMILAR RESULTS ON CYPRUS. DENKTASH RESPONDED THAT HE HAD PLAYED A ROLE NOT DISSIMILAR TO SADAT'S IN HIS MEETINGS WITH MAKARIOS AND KYPRIANOU, BUT THAT HIS OVERTURES HAD BEEN IMMEDIATELY UNDERMINED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WHO PREFERRED ENOSIS TO A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

6. CONGRESSMAN BONKER SAID HE HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF ENOSIS WITH GREEK CYPRIOTS, AND WAS CONVINCED THAT THERE WAS NO LONGER ANY SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA IN GREEK CYPRUS. DENKTASH POINTED TO PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE DEMONSTRATION AT THE GREEK CYPRIOT PRESIDENTIAL PALACE ON NOV. 15, NOTING THAT THE STUDENTS CARRIED ONLY GREEK FLAGS. HE CLAIMED THAT AS LONG AS THE GREEK CYPRIOT CHURCH AND SCHOOLTEACHERS MAINTAIN THE IDEA, ENOSIS WAS NOT DEAD. HE ALSO NOTED THAT FOREIGN VISITORS WERE GREETED IN CYPRUS BY THE GREEK NATIONAL ANTHEM, AND THAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1967 HAD VOTED THAT NO AGREEMENT WHICH FORBADE ENOSIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOC. THERE HAD BEEN NO REVERSAL OF THAT DECISION. CONGRESSMAN BONKER RAISED GREEK CYPRIOT CONCERNS THAT THE "TRNC" WAS NOT AN INDEPENDENT STATE, BUT RATHER DEPENDS WHOLLY UPON TURKEY. DENKTASH ADMITTED THAT HIS "STATE" DEPENDED HEAVILY

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UPON TURKISH SUPPORT, THAT TURKEY PROVIDED 40-45 PERCENT OF HIS BUDGET AND 100 PERCENT OF THE COST OF MAINTAINING FORCES ON THE ISLAND, AND OF DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE. HE POINTED OUT THAT IN 1964, WHEN TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD BEEN WHOLLY CUT OFF FROM THE GOC BUDGET AND PUSHED INTO ENCLAVES, TURKEY PROVIDED 100 PERCENT OF THEIR SUBSISTENCE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR TRIBLE, DENKTASH SAID HIS COMMUNITY SOUGHT A BI-ZONAL FEDERAL SETTLEMENT IN WHICH HIS COMMUNITY'S PARTNERSHIP STATUS WOULD BE PRESERVED, WITH A GUARANTEE AGAINST FUTURE ENOSIS, AND MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY GUARANTEE FROM TURKEY. SENATOR TRIBLE ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FOR THE SYG'S PROPOSED LIST OF FEDERAL POWERS, WHICH IACOVOU SAID DENTTASH HAD REJECTED BUT DENKTASH SAID HE HAD ACCEPTED. DENKTASH SAID HIS COMMUNITY HAD INDEED ACCEPTED THE SYG'S LIST OF PROPOSED POWERS FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, BUT INSISTED THAT ALL RESIDUAL POWERS SHOULD RESIDE IN THE PROVINCES. HE DESCRIBED THE GOC AS INSISTING THAT BOTH FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL POWERS SHOULD BE ELINEATED, WITH THE RESIDUAL RESIDING IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. "THAT IS NOT THE PURPOSE OF THE EXERCISE", DENKTASH CONCLUDED.

7. THIS MESSAGE WAS PREPARED AFTER CODEL'S DEPARTURE FROM CYPRUS. BOEHM
END OF MESSAGE

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